

## America's Problem in the Twentieth Century.

The consideration of this subject leads the author of the current report on a distinction, which is so important, and which, when suggested, has been the cause of so much confusion, that it must be got

of something in the inarticulate voice of vast multitudes which is calculated, like the voice of the many-sounding sea, to awe the minds of the better class of statesmen and to steady them for great designs, deepening their sense of responsibility, and fixing their minds on great moral issues, an impulse not to be secured by any Government resting on a restricted range of classes or interests, faintly tracing the like influence in the history of the Greek Republics, considered as a form of government. Not the less firmly does it insist that, however servicable democracy may be in the present stage of society for its influence in advancing morality, social justice and the amelioration of the great masses of men, it is undeniably a point that requires peculiar conditions of soil and climate for its success, while as an institutional form of government it is not only in its infancy, but is accompanied by great dangers, and is subject to the many misuses of politics like the single sharp-pointed kind of despotic monarchy, but like a soft mass of wax of vast multiplicity of separate legs rolling and tumbling along at the mercy of wind and sea. The real doubt was as to generally acknowledged that what Mr. Toynbee desired to emphasize especially was that the particular stage of democracy which states in with the French Revolution and the nineteenth century, being an absolute contradiction, is an outgrowth of government situated in the entirely to us uncondition of society whatever or at all apt to any nation, or society which had that a closed field definite boundaries, and that it had flourished only in those conditions in which Rousseau had to be noted when he framed it. Democracy, in modern times, is a contradiction, and the substance like the real influence have unlimited freedom, and can move on and on as civilization comes up to them and threaten to consume and destroy them.

that the author's basic idea for the political organization of modern States is that they should be made to progress all of a piece; that there should be no gaps or collisions anywhere; that that all ancient privileges and liberties should be gradually broken down; so that the whole society from front to rear, its ranks standing in each other by immediate gradations, should move forward like an army, with nothing but the least possible friction between its ranks. It is, finally, a conclusion from the rest to the rest, all persons standing upon its talent and virtue. For although in our author's opinion, the existence of hierarchy and degree in society is as essential to a well-ordered State as

A short account of each of these movements is given for the purpose of furnishing the principles which, in our author's opinion, should guide us in the reconstruction of the politics of our country in the twentieth century. Of these movements or streams of tendency, the first three are described as natural, natural, the fourth, though harmful in itself, is believed by Mr. Crozier to have had the effect, when united with the rest, of converting them, as in certain chemical combinations, into political poison. These streams of tendency are tabulated in order as follows: First, industrial development and concentration; second, the growth of great cities; third, the Federal Constitution and the party system, fourth, the substitution for the natural equality of property of the artificial equality of incomes; the stream of tendency to set the industrial development supplies the material with but little of gold for purposes of luxury and corruption; the second, namely, the growth of great cities, arms the race and the King with their temptations of luxury and corruption; the third, the party system, gives the voters, in the pressure of their selfishness, to the police and the fourth, the artificial stream, equality of incomes, turns the lights out of the places where temptations are made while the corruptors now plunder the public by filling up political offices and appointments with their own nominees.

After discussing in the seventh chapter of the second part the changes brought about in the United States by the combination of the first three streams of tendency, Mr. Crozier in the eighth and concluding chapter steps back from the end war and commences to take a broad survey of the field, with the view of demonstrating the relative importance and subordination of its various features. "There will, it appears," he says, "have really happened what are the terms and conditions under which we have been obliged to live, and we are now in a position to consider, and to deal with the end and spread which they have made in the world and how relatively unimportant is their effect on American political life. They belong, not to the concrete, but to the adjuncts of politics."

[illegible]

To sum up, then, our author would describe these three institutions, namely the Presidency, the Supreme Court and the Senate, as the real organs of the national will, and he emphasizes his belief that they carry out the duties entrusted to them and expected of them, conscientiously and well. With the exception of one consideration, the legislative functions of the Senate, "they all lie above the howlswind of public opinion, and therefore need no new machinery for their amendment. It is only when we get below the line, and come to the lesser administrative and judicial machinery with which the people as a whole have no concern to the political leavings in short, that it is wise or the unimprovement collar," printing paper, leather shoes, and other commodities, under the light of public opinion should penetrate, where the lobbyist, the grocer and the horse-flesh court and seneschal; and where they continue to live and flourish." How can the lesser administrative and judicial machinery be reformed without doing violence either to the Federal Constitution or to the historical tradition and traditions of the Republic? In the first place, it is necessary to prevent the passage of Congress and the State Legislatures. Mr. Crozier shows that the principle is so to alter the machinery as to let it move lightly everywhere, but he promises it to be possible that any plan of alteration suggested by him be considered over and over again to convince every man some necessity for its adoption in the light either before the members of Congress or of a state legislature get into the habit of carrying out their business as if they were free of their duty of our author's own government. The certain little agent, for example, who interferes with the general administration of justice by meddling with the various cases or transactions or matters by which individuals or corporations cause some profit for themselves, while maintaining the national or local law, is the case-lawyer, or lawyer, or politician, in a general way, a large number of countries, such as France, before being sent to a special institution, so that when the full should be otherwise reported to the House there would be a sufficient number of distinguished members with some general knowledge of its character and merits to criticize intelligently. Thus, Mr. Crozier thinks, "might help a little, but the national authorities

[illegible]